

Venture

JOURNAL OF THE FABIAN COLONIAL BUREAU

VOL. I No. 10

NOVEMBER 1949

MONTHLY 6d.

Incorporating Empire

Comment

THE HIGH COMMISSION TERRITORIES

THE three High Commission Territories—Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland—are becoming increasingly a source of anxiety. They hold a peculiar position in the politics of the African Continent. Basutoland is

an *enclave* within South African territory, and Bechuanaland and Swaziland are pretty well surrounded by the Union on three sides. The original intention was that, at some unspecified date in the future, the three lands would be taken

over by the Government of the Union, but this has never come about owing to the drastic difference between British and South Africa Native policies. It became more and more evident with the passage of the years that there would be violent objection, not only among the local people but from Africans elsewhere and from liberal opinion in Britain, against the incorporation of yet more 'Natives' within the Union. South Africa has never really acquiesced in this situation; there have been sporadic demands for the incorporation of the Protectorates and the demands are now increasing under the Nationalist Government. Sooner or later they will take an insistent and aggressive form, and Britain must have her answer ready. It may be that the struggle over the chieftainship in Bechuanaland, complicated by the marriage of the heir, Seretse, to a white woman, will prove the spark to ignite the flames. In the meantime, the local population is fearful and uneasy. Although it has been announced more than once that Britain will never agree to the transfer of the territories



without consulting the people, these announcements do not receive the publicity on the spot that they should, and are not perhaps couched in the simple and emphatic terms which would be best understood. Britain is thought—with some justification—to be ‘appeasing’ South Africa. There is also criticism that we have not done enough to develop the territories, and to secure for them a progressive Civil Service. It is known that there are many South Africans among the local officials, and they could hardly be expected to take to a ‘Native policy’ drastically opposed to that in their home country. There is no suggestion that Britain should deliberately provoke trouble by some new dramatic act or announcement; but it should be made clear, beyond a shred of doubt, that as long as South African Native policy is what it is, Britain will stand absolutely firm against a transfer; and, what is more, that she will do her best to show in these territories an inspiring alternative to the South African way of doing things. Ultimately, of course, the issue is whether we are to try to remain on good terms with the Union so as to keep the Commonwealth intact, or whether this will cost us so much in our own probity, not to mention the cost in failing confidence on the part of the African peoples, that we would prefer to break with South Africa altogether. At the moment we are trying to close our eyes to this dilemma. But it is on just this issue of the High Commission Territories that the fateful decision will, in all probability, be forced upon us.

WHAT IS UNO DOING?

WHAT are the United Nations doing about the Colonies? The Press is all but a blank on this subject, except when there has been some particularly virulent invective from the Russians against ‘imperialist exploitation.’ Yet in point of fact the different committees of UNO dealing with dependent territories are hard and regularly at work, producing resolutions, amassing a mountain of documents, and pouring forth millions of words. Our blind spot in regard to all these activities may be due to the fact that Britain has been a hesitant and unhappy participator on the two main colonial committees of UNO—the Trusteeship Council which supervises the special Trust Territories; and the Special Committee which receives Reports on all the remaining dependent territories, but has no power to act on its information. The reason for Britain’s reserve is that, from the start, these committees have been used as an arena for ‘Iron Curtain’ propaganda against the ‘imperialism’ of the West. At first India joined with Russia in this crusade, but

latterly the Indian delegate has become more objective and understanding of the real difficulties to be met in the Colonies. Russian hostility, however continues unabated, and it is this—together with the criticisms of some of the smaller states with no colonial experience of their own—which has kept Britain in her dissident position. This year the Trusteeship Council met at Lake Success for five weeks in June and July, and the Special Committee on dependent territories for three weeks in August and September. They have each passed a number of resolutions on a great range of subjects—which will now go before the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly. The Trusteeship Council has considered the Report of the Special UNO Visiting Mission to East Africa last year, and set up a second Visiting Mission to visit West Africa in November. It has reported on Administrative Unions affecting Trust Territories and on Higher Education in the Trust Territories in Africa. The Special Committee has sent forward six resolutions—on the voluntary transmission of information on political matters in the Colonies (this was deliberately omitted under the Charter, but great pressure has been exerted that the information should be transmitted voluntarily); on equal treatment of all races in matters relating to education; on developing vernacular languages; on combating illiteracy; on securing international collaboration in the general progress of Colonies; and on prolonging the activities of this Special Committee for a three-year period. The last has been a ticklish point from the outset, as no permanent Committee is provided for in the Charter, and Britain, France and Belgium—with their experience of this Committee at work—have no enthusiasm for its being given permanent life. On the whole it is a pity that Britain has not found her way towards a more friendly approach in these international activities. However irritating the attacks made on us may be, we seem only to do ourselves harm by maintaining our attitude of *hauteur* and offended dignity in the face of criticism. And this is doubly distressing at a time when there is so much that could be told with pride.

CIVIL SERVANTS IN POLITICS

THERE is a great deal of confusion in different Colonies regarding the position of civil servants in politics. May they, or may they not join political associations? On 11 March, 1949, Mr. Creech Jones said in the House that the practice varied from territory to territory, but Colonial Governments did not normally allow their officials to belong to political organisations. In

Kenya an order had been issued earlier in the year prohibiting civil servants of all races from joining political associations, but this order has now been modified leaving the position exceedingly vague. In Uganda, on the other hand, the ban holds good, and it is commonly believed among teachers in Government Schools (though denied by the Colonial Office) that even they are debarred from politics. A recent report from the Bahamas tells of a head of a Government department ordering his employees to refrain from taking part in politics, and in Nigeria many articles have been appearing in the Press asking for a relaxation of these regulations—even suggesting that provision for civil rights for officials should be included in the 1950 Constitution! Malaya, in contrast, has issued a circular stating that all Government servants *are* at liberty to belong to political parties, to vote, and to hold office in a party, provided this does not conflict with their duties as public servants. Exception is, however, made in the case of the legal department, the police force and the army. These different regulations indicate a very muddled situation, and we would suggest to the Colonial Office that a Commission be set up to review the position, on the lines of the Masterman

Commission which has recently reported on the same subject here. It is not only in the interests of dissipating confusion that this should be done, but there are very real difficulties in the Colonies which we do not share in Britain and which should be looked at with a fresh mind. The Colonies are advancing in political consciousness; new parties and organisations are constantly appearing. The problem for them is to throw up effective leadership. Yet, in colonial conditions the great majority of the educated men and women are naturally absorbed into the Civil Services. There are, of course, independent professionals—particularly in more advanced areas like the West Indies—but they are few compared with the army of Government clerks, technical staff, orderlies and doctors in Government hospitals, officials in Labour and Education Departments, and so on. It is obvious that the higher ranks of the administrative service, who are dealing with major policy issues, could not participate in party politics at the same time, but a clear line of demarcation should be drawn between the grades who may and those who may not, as has now been drawn in Britain. Only in the Colonies the separating line would fall very much higher up the scale.

THE NIGERIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT

How does it look from the Eastern Provinces?

By Marjorie Nicholson

IT is difficult to sum up a political movement in a colonial country in the short period of three months, particularly when one belongs, willy nilly, to what may be called the ruling class. Nevertheless, the success of the national movement in Nigeria is of vital importance to the building up of a free Africa, and it is as one of those who wish to see Africa free that I presume to make some comments on it. Nigerians may disagree with the comments, but if they help to provoke discussion they will have served their purpose.

In the Eastern Provinces of Nigeria there is going on to-day a wonderful movement forward of the human mind. For some it is obscured by daily sights which are quite horrifying to anyone who is unaccustomed to living in a society where there is a general callousness in human relations, and where poverty is measured in terms of open drains and lack of elementary tools. But there are other quite different sights to see—young men emerging from what look like hovels in spotless white shirts and shorts, African students discussing difficult constitutional issues in a foreign

language, advertisements for African newspapers and announcements of political meetings—which speak of energy and intelligence and a passionate desire to be accepted as the equal of any other people in the world. This movement forward is expressed in all kinds of efforts to better village amenities, to improve labour conditions, to collect funds for students to study abroad, and so on. These efforts constitute the soil from which spring the political organisations whose task it is to make effective in a political and constitutional sense the popular desire for equal status.

The task of political organisation has to be carried out amongst a largely illiterate population in which comparatively few read newspapers and books, and amongst whom it is extremely difficult to build up an educated public opinion. Confidence is therefore given, except on the broadest issues, to personalities rather than to programmes, and this imposes very heavy responsibilities on the leaders, while at the same time it deprives them of the intellectual sustenance which leaders in a highly organised movement like the British

Labour Party draw from their own followers. They are given plenty of emotional support as long as they are trusted, but they might well have difficulty in retaining popular confidence if they found it necessary to take any action which their followers, through lack of experience or knowledge, had difficulty in understanding. The simple concept of political freedom is easy to grasp, but it is not easy to translate it into terms of constitutional concessions, labour victories, better prices for farmers or greater numbers of senior African officials. Yet the political leader has to deal with all of these, while retaining the confidence of followers who are quite unaware of his difficulties. Moreover, it is not easy for him to explain the details of policy in person, as travelling is difficult and very expensive. The chief weakness of the political movements, therefore, is the lack of democratic organisation, inevitable in the present circumstances.

A second weakness is the concentration on political demands—again typical of a young national movement. The National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons has worked out in detail the constitution of an independent Nigeria, embodied in its *Freedom Charter*. This Charter also refers to various social services, which should in a free Nigeria be guaranteed to all citizens. But it has not drawn up any programme for the establishment of the economic conditions necessary to sustain these services, and, indeed, to sustain the independence of the country itself. It has published no charter for the farmers, and has, apparently, no detailed constructive programme for the improvement of housing or health conditions, the development of local government, or the organisation of mass literacy campaigns. In all of these fields the initiative lies with the Government, while the political organisations concentrate on making demands on the Government rather than on seizing the initiative themselves. This is quite natural in the circumstances, but it constitutes a weakness, since the success of the movement will depend on its capacity to provide an alternative to the existing Government, not on its capacity to organise demands.

In the general move forward, individuals connected with the political organisations have associated themselves with social advances, but so far there is no parallel to such examples as the leadership given in India by Mahatma Gandhi in the cause of the 'Untouchables' or by Babu Rajendra Prasad in that of the peasantry. The political organisations could also strengthen their position by using some of their young intellectuals to work on constructive programmes, as the British Labour Party has used its own Research Depart-

ment and the Fabian Society. In the present political climate in the East, these organisations have the ball at their feet, if only they will decide to kick it.

The third problem which requires careful thought is the relation of sectional to national demands. In the context of local problems the various tribal unions are playing a progressive rôle, and through them much is being done to arouse the political consciousness of the villagers. There is, however, the danger that tribal separatism may thereby be stimulated, creating divisions even within the Eastern Region itself, not to mention divisions between the East, the West and the North. The appalling Press controversy which occurred over a year ago is a warning of what may happen if feelings of local patriotism are directed into undesirable channels. It was also my impression that the demand for provincial boundaries to be drawn on a linguistic basis is an encouragement to these fissiparous tendencies, though its supporters claim that it will work in the opposite direction by reducing the areas of administration to areas of homogeneous population.

There are also many underlying social problems which cannot be dealt with here, such as problems of language and differing religions and outlooks. These are not insuperable, but they all create difficulties in the organisation of a political movement. Nigerians are, in fact, forced to attempt a political task of very great magnitude, with little to help them but the vigour of a rising people. This vigour is certainly startling, and it is only a matter of time before experience is added to it. With the development of a wider educated public opinion some of the existing problems facing the leadership will vanish, and the whole movement can step up from the agitational level to the level at which it is strong enough to take power.

CHRISTMAS 1949

Have you a friend who is interested in colonial problems? Why not give a year's subscription to *Venture* as a useful and interesting present which will go right round the year? *Venture* is sent to nearly every British Colony, as well as to subscribers in this country, the Dominions and the United States. If you will send the name and address of your friend with a postal order for 7s. to the Fabian Colonial Bureau, the Editor will be pleased to post *Venture* for one year from January 1st, 1950.

CARIBBEAN DEVELOPMENT

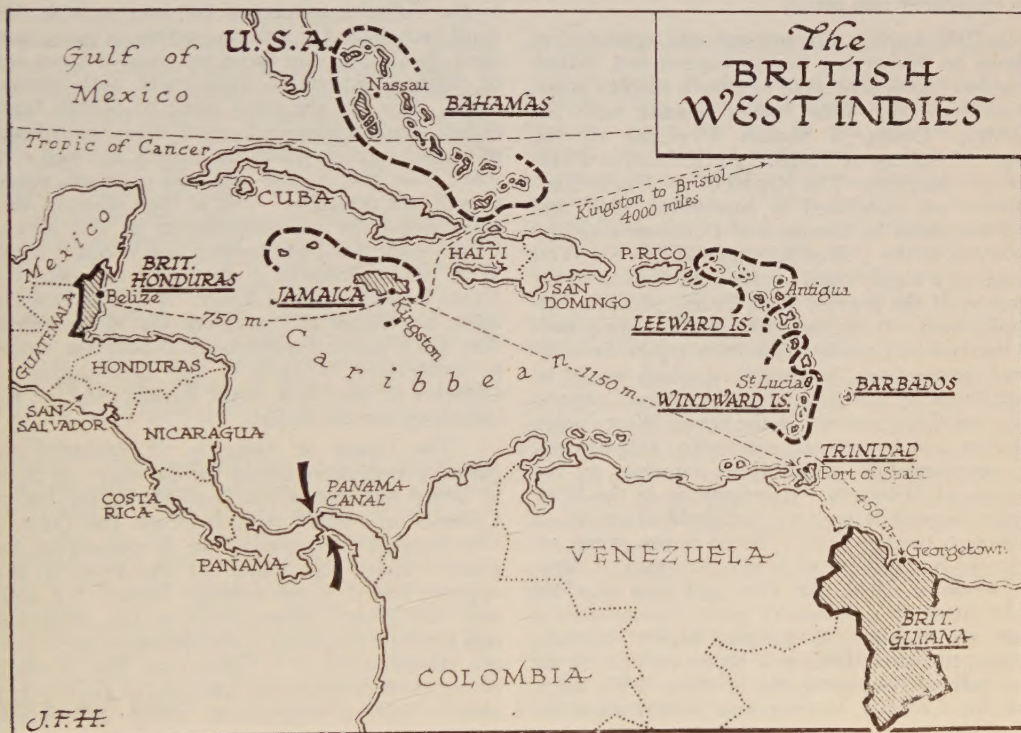
By a West Indian Correspondent

THE departure of Lord Listowel, Colonial Minister of State, on October 1, for the West Indies to make a tour of inspection of those Colonies and to preside at a conference in Barbados of the Governors of the seven West Indian Colonies, beginning on November 7, draws attention to the problems of that region, and especially to development, political, economic, and social, in the British West Indian colonies.

Not even the most carping critic of British colonial administration could truthfully say that Britain has fallen short of her duty in making progressive political reforms and preparing the way for others in the British West Indies in the past fifteen years. (We wish that we could say the same of the Bahamas and Bermuda!) Adult suffrage has been granted to men and women in most of the West Indies and a franchise approximating to adult suffrage in others; increased representation of the people in the Legislative and Executive Councils now exists by election, and in Jamaica

and Barbados (a Colony which has had a wholly elected Lower Chamber of its Legislature without interruption from the time it was settled in 1625) there is a form of government little short of Responsible Government. In September, 1947, Mr. A. Creech Jones presided over a conference in Jamaica of delegates from the seven West Indian Colonies, at which political federation was discussed and received the support in principle of all of them except British Guiana. A Standing Committee with a whole-time Chairman (Sir Hubert Rance, since appointed Governor of Trinidad) was set up to work out the details of a federal constitution for submission to the several West Indian Legislatures.

Accompanying these efforts towards political federation, an expert on Customs has been working out the lines of a West Indian Customs Union, another expert has been preparing the constitution of a unified West Indian Civil Service, and substantial progress has been made towards estab-



lishing a uniform West Indian currency and improving sea communication. Another regional achievement of inestimable value has been the foundation of the West Indies University College in Jamaica, which received its first undergraduates in October, 1948.

But economic development lags far behind political advance, and there is danger of the apex of the pyramid raising its head aloft before the foundations are well and truly laid. The West India (Moyne) Royal Commission of 1938 which investigated the causes of the disturbances which swept the British West Indies in 1936-37 found that the traditional agricultural export industries could not afford employment for the rapidly growing population of working age might otherwise be absorbed in useful activity. The Commission's Report was followed by the appointment of a Comptroller of Development and Welfare, and grants from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund were made available to the governments of the separate Colonies. But there is not much to show for the work done so far, beyond a small cotton-spinning plant in Barbados, a few airfields, schools, clinics and demonstration agricultural stations, and a number of admirable schemes not yet translated into action.

In 1947 another Commission was appointed to advise on developing British Guiana and British Honduras to enable them to absorb surplus population from the West Indian Islands, with Sir Geoffrey Evans, a former Principal of the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture in Trinidad, as Chairman. The Report of the Evans Commission was published in November, 1948, and was welcomed by members of Parliament and by the Press in the United Kingdom and in the West Indies as a highly constructive contribution to the solution of the gravest West Indian problem, unemployment. It recommended establishing in each of the two continental Colonies a public development corporation, the capital of which would be contributed by the Colonial Development Corporation, the Governments of the seven West Indian colonies and by private enterprise, accompanied by representation of all those interests on the Boards of Directors. It seemed as if the West Indies were at last on the threshold of an era of economic development. These hopes were reinforced by a statement by the Secretary of State in December, 1948, that £2m. had been provided to be spent on preliminary investigations arising from the Report. A harbour expert was sent at once to British Guiana to report on making the Essequibo River navigable by deep draft ships, and the Colonial Development Corporation an-

nounced its intention of forming a company to develop the forest resources of British Guiana, in which two firms of great forestry experience had consented to participate.

Another Failure?

Unfortunately the C.D.C. gave priority to the one of the Evans recommendations which would employ the smallest amount of labour, and the emphasis seems to have shifted from finding employment for surplus West Indian population to developing the forest resources of British Guiana. It has not been followed by any announcement that other recommendations which would employ more labour would be implemented in the near future, and the West Indian public is asking whether the other recommendations of the Commission will pass into oblivion like so many of the recommendations of the Moyne Commission and of the numerous other commissions which have toured, examined, investigated and reported on the West Indies and been forgotten. Although the Commission recommended expansion of production of agricultural crops such as bananas, rice and sugar, which have been successfully grown in the Colonies concerned for long periods, the usual technique for delaying action is being pursued of no action on those recommendations and of sending experts to experiment with untried crops. Surveys are being made of remote lands and of communications to reach them, while lands of proved fertility which are already serviced with road, river and, in one case, rail communications as well, are passed by. Just as the Colonial Office emasculated the recommendation by the Moyne Commission that Development and Welfare in the West Indies should be given executive power, the Evans Report seems in danger of similar emasculation by failure to implement the recommendation that a public development corporation should be established in each of the two continental Colonies to plan and direct development of the industries recommended.

The House of Assembly of Barbados has passed a resolution asking the Secretary of State to invite representatives from the West Indian Colonies to consult with him and the Colonial Development Corporation on implementing the Evans Report. No action has been taken on this request, and it is not publicly known if a reply has been given. Some critics of the suggestion that a public corporation should undertake economic development in a Colony say that it would conflict with some of the functions of the Government. Such a corporation would undoubtedly

have to provide social services for its employees, such as hospitals, schools, roads, light and water supplies, and even recreation by reason of the fact that some of its activities would be too far from existing services furnished by the Colonial Governments, and the Governments could not afford to extend them. But that is already done in many British Colonies by private corporations without objection being raised by the Government. The local corporations are essential, for piecemeal tackling of unemployment in the West Indies solely by an external Corporation is not calculated to lead to success.

If His Majesty's Government finds that it is

not financially able to implement these recommendations it should say so unequivocally and dispel false hopes. But before development of the two continental Colonies and transfer of population to them is abandoned by His Majesty's Government, if it is abandoned, it should be remembered that Britain cannot hold those Colonies for ever in an undeveloped state with progressive neighbours coveting them, and some of the inhabitants of the Colonies concerned holding off from West Indian Federation because they think that they have 'a continental destiny,' encouraged in his belief by economic developments actively pursued by their continental neighbours.

COLONIAL STUDENTS AND THE LABOUR PARTY

By E. G. Farmer

Mr. Farmer deals with colonial matters in the International Department of the Labour Party.

THE colonial students who were the guests of the Labour Party at its national rally at Filey last month received a tremendous welcome from the rank and file of the movement when, after the lecture on Colonial Policy on the first day, they were introduced to the gathering of several thousand members of the Party.

The interest then shown in colonial problems continued throughout the week, and our friends from Africa, the West Indies and South-East Asia contributed much to the discussion groups on colonial problems which became one of the popular features of the Rally. They took part in all the activities, made many friendships and discussed freely with members of the Party the problems of their homelands, of Britain and of the world.

There is no doubt that our visitors from the Commonwealth were impressed by the welcome they received, by the interest shown in their problems and by the unfettered discussion of all aspects of policy which was a feature of the Rally. In the lecture halls and in their daily contact with individuals, our colonial friends experienced something of the democratic spirit which pervades all our activities. On their side, they brought to the consideration of colonial questions a sense of urgency and helped to stimulate the interest

of Party members in this field of public affairs.

Experiences of this kind are valuable both to Labour Party members and to our Colonial friends. It is the aim of the Labour Party, through the Colonial Section of its International Department at Headquarters, to provide opportunities for colonial students in Britain to learn at first-hand, the outlook of Labour Party people and to stimulate amongst our members, and through them the British electorate generally, a wider interest in the problems of the Colonies and an increased awareness of the significance of colonial affairs in the world to-day.

Colonial students who so desire are being put in touch with the organisations of Labour students at the universities and colleges, with Labour Party people in the localities in which they live, and with the Society of Labour Lawyers, the Labour Teachers' Association, and the Socialist Medical Association—professional bodies affiliated to the Labour Party. They are welcome too at the Party's Summer Schools and at other educational and social activities.

It is through such direct contacts alone that the colonial student in Britain will be able to judge for himself the sincerity of purpose of the British Labour Movement.

COLONIAL OPINION . . .

May Day Resolutions

Among the resolutions adopted on May Day at a rally held by the Trinidad and Tobago Trades Union Council were two on social services. The demands of the workers of Trinidad, under this head, are summarised in the following editorial:—

The Trade Union Movement is disgusted over the continued policy of procrastination evinced by Government over the important questions of unemployment insurance, health insurance, full employment, bad housing conditions in the sugar areas and improved educational facilities on which repeated representations have been made for over eleven years. Once again Government have been called upon to face their responsibility to do something to alleviate the misery, suffering and squalor of the masses of this country. The retrograde action taken in destroying the Social Welfare Department has been squarely condemned and the powers-that-be have been asked to reinaugurate a social welfare programme under trained scientific guidance.

Finally, Government have been asked to introduce legislation making it obligatory to all employers in the country to pay to all their employees full wages for all public holidays. The principle advocated is straight time for those who are absent from jobs on such occasion and double time for eight hours work for those whom the exigencies of the service make it compulsory that they should work on public holidays. This fair labour practice obtains in Great Britain. Government are asked to create a situation here under which our workers would enjoy just what the British workers have enjoyed for years. Social justice demands the immediate introduction of legislation to give effect to this desideratum.

Vanguard, Trinidad, May 14, 1949.

Who is the Government?

One of the most remarkable facts of Malayan public life to-day is that governors and governed have entirely different ideas of what they mean by Government. . . . 'Government' to the ordinary Federal citizen means the British administration which has its headquarters in Kuala Lumpur. A citizen of Singapore would answer this question in the same terms. When he speaks of 'Government' he means the Governor, the Colonial Secretary and a few other high officials.

Let us now ask our imaginary citizen of the Federation or the Colony where the Legislative Council fits into his mental picture of 'Government.' He will probably reply that he regards the unofficial members as forming a sort of emasculated colonial apology for His Majesty's Opposition as known at Westminster; or, if he does not say that, he is likely to make some very rude remarks about Yes-men and so forth. But he certainly will not say that he regards the Legislative Council as forming any part of 'Government' as he understands that term. . . . The mental picture of 'Government' as an all-powerful group of European officials at the top, indulging in polite constitutional camouflage in the Legislative

Council but keeping all real power in their own hands, has been fixed in the public mind for over a century in the Straits Settlements, and for over half a century in those States that we used to speak of as the F.M.S. . . .

But what do Government officials themselves mean by 'Government'? If we were able to put this question to a high official of the Federal Government, he would deny, with emphasis, that Government in Kuala Lumpur means what the ordinary citizen thinks it means. This high official would say, firstly, that 'the central government' is based solidly upon the Federal Legislative Council and derives its power from that body. He would argue that the predominantly unofficial character of the Legislative Council and its unofficial majority represent a constitutional change of great importance, and that the Legislative Council (and particularly its Finance Committee) is a true organic part of the central government; and he would make the same claim for the Executive Council. Since all these organic parts are largely in unofficial hands, our Government official would say that it is quite wrong to think of 'Government' as being merely the group of British permanent officials at the top.

Well, we must admit, and gladly admit, that what our imaginary Government official says is very true; and perhaps it is time that we all cleared the colonial cobwebs out of our minds and thought afresh about what we mean by 'Government' as it functions in the Federation and in the Colony to-day.

Straits Times, Singapore, July 6, 1949.

Prejudices

Throughout the field of human relations it is found that people of all times, including ours, have been guilty of thinking and acting under the influence of evil prejudice of one kind or another. . . . The Anglo-Saxon people are the principal exponents of colour and racial prejudice, while at the same time they are proclaiming their faith in democracy—the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.

In our own country we find colour and race prejudice being practised in some respects as rigidly as the worst parts of the southern states. The amusing but almost tragic thing about this is the fact that any person who comes out and condemns this, is accused of stirring up or raising the race question. Those who are responsible for the Jim Crow policies are not regarded as raising the race or colour question. In private life there are differences even in a family where members react differently socially. But no citizen should be prevented from the full exercise of his citizenship or the enjoyment of his rights because of the colour of his skin, the texture of his hair or the thickness of his lips.

It is interesting to find a person willing to have the personal service of another, eat food prepared by the individual, suckle the breast of this or another of the opposite race, and beget children with one of this race, but unwilling to attend the same theatre or eat in the same restaurant or live in the same hotel with people of the opposite race. Yet such a person will boast of education and culture. How?

The Voice, Nassau, April 2, 1949

DEVALUATION IN THE COLONIES

The most extraordinary feature of the devaluation debate in the House of Commons on September 27 to 29 was the absence of discussion of the effect of devaluation on the Colonies. Except for the President of the Board of Trade, Government spokesmen either ignored the Colonies or referred to them only in the vaguest terms, and no statement was made by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, who would surely have been a more appropriate participant in the debate than the Minister of Health? Mr. Wilson showed that the United Kingdom has increased its imports of timber and tobacco from Africa, thus reducing its dependence on dollar supplies, and stated that natural rubber now has a competitive advantage over synthetic rubber in the United States market as a result in the change of price due to devaluation of the pound, but no explanation was given of the policies to be pursued in the Colonies as a result of the changed situation.

What are the Colonies now to expect? The United States has reduced the amount of synthetic rubber which by regulation must be included in certain types of goods, and the dollar price of natural rubber has fallen. At the same time, there is to be more American stock-piling of rubber. The three factors together should enable Malaya to increase its rubber exports, and thereby to increase very largely its sterling earnings. Similarly, tin will now be cheaper for the American importer, but dearer for the British manufacturer. West Africa will benefit from the jump in the price of gold and cotton, but the dollar price of cocoa has fallen.

Colonial raw materials, the best dollar-earners in the sterling area, will now bring a greater return to the Colonies, but the increase will be in sterling, not in their dollar allocation. If they can spend their increase on machinery and textiles imported from the sterling area, devaluation will help them. Will there be a corresponding diversion of these goods from the British home market to satisfy the increased colonial demand? If not, will the colonial governments take steps to deal with the inflation that will most certainly ensue, and what steps will they take? The cost of living has been a permanent worry since the war, and has been at the root of endless labour troubles in the Colonies: surely the problem might have been at least mentioned in the House of Commons?

At the same time, the Washington Conference foreshadowed increased American investment in the Colonies, presumably on dollar-earning projects. What these are to be remains to be seen, but it is obvious that increased importation of American equipment will be beneficial. It is for colonial governments now to state on what terms the investment will be allowed—whether, for example, there will be provisions for the training of local labour for skilled and administrative work, as the Burmese Government is demanding from foreign investors in Burma.

Some guidance on these points is urgently required. There is no aspect of policy which is regarded with so much misgiving in the Colonies as economic development, and there is no subject on which so little information is available. There is a suspicion—sometimes unjustified—that they do not get their fair share of dollars, but how can an effective answer be given when accurate information is unobtainable? There is a suspicion that the im-

port of American capital will merely be an extension of the old 'dollar imperialism' into new fields, and this too is a justifiable suspicion in the absence of clear statements from the British and Colonial Governments. What is required now is an exhaustive statement in the House of Commons on the full implications of the recent changes, and a similar statement, *in simple language*, from every colonial government. It is only fair that colonial producers and the British public should be told the extent of the effort that is required on all sides if the economic system of Britain and of the Colonies is to survive.

CORRESPONDENCE

DILEMMA IN MALAYA

To the Editor of *Venture*

Sir,

I am writing this letter to you because I feel that your article in the July number of *Venture* may do more harm than good. It is true that there is a dilemma of the kind which your correspondent describes, but the inaccuracies and mis-statements in his article will give readers not only a distorted but also a false picture of the situation in Malaya.

In the interests of accuracy I offer the following detailed comments:—

1. "The Malay Sultans . . . are . . . without an atom of real authority." Has the writer read the Federation Agreement? In fact, the Conference of Rulers is a real stumbling-block to certain reforms, *e.g.*,

(a) introduction of a Public Service commission similar to the one in Singapore;

(b) training more non-Malays to be fit for higher Government posts.

2. There *are* Government Chinese Schools. The problem is, of course, largely a matter of getting the Legislative Council to vote more money. Bigger Government grants to these schools would give us *more* control over them, but that is not to say that we have no control now.

3. The Department of Public Relations in the Federation has *not* been axed. It is very active in psychological warfare against the communist guerillas.

4. The Chinese Nationalist flag has not hung outside Chinese schools except in a few isolated ones many months ago.

5. There is plenty of evidence that in many Chinese schools a great deal is done to produce Malayan rather than purely Chinese citizens. All these schools are given Government grants, which have been increased, and the schools are inspected. English is taught as a second language. There is indeed a shortage of teachers of English, but this is being gradually overcome.

6. The criticism of the Communities Liaison Committee I consider as most unfair and undeserved. You will now have read the recommendations published on September 18. I hope that your efforts will help to translate the recommendations of the Committee into early action.

Yours, etc.,

An Englishman of Kuala Lumpur.

Guide to Books

Handbook on Race Relations in South Africa

Edited by Ellen Hellman. 778 pages.
(Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press.
42s.)

South Africa

By Arthur Keppel-Jones. (Hutchinson's University
Library. 7s. 6d.)

These two books make a significant contribution to our study of South Africa, never more important than at the present time when South Africa stands at the bar of world opinion for her treatment of her Indian and African peoples. In many respects, the books are complementary, since, first of all, it is necessary that we should grasp the historical influences that have moulded Afrikaner opinion responsible for the present *apartheid* policy. As British people, it is only just that we should appreciate that the vacillating policy of the British Government throughout the nineteenth century is partly responsible for the anti-British feelings which have inspired some of the recent legislation. This background is given in Dr. Keppel-Jones's *South Africa*. The writer combines an ability to write with imagination and a liberal outlook. The importance of the book is not confined to students of South Africa, as the laws and practices relating to racial discrimination and the colour bar of the white trade unions have spread to the Rhodesias, and there are sympathisers of the *apartheid* policy among the white people throughout Central and East Africa.

The *Handbook*, published for the South African Institute of Race Relations, brings together for the first time all the significant investigations on the social, economic and political conditions in the Union. It is a compilation of 31 well-known South African writers, and will surely remain for many years the most comprehensive study of a multi-racial society. Here is a detailed exposition of how administration and law, labour and trade union organisation, conditions in urban and rural areas are permeated with the South African attitude towards race relations. There are sections on African religion, literature, arts and crafts, and music. A chapter on the High Commission Territories ends with the all-important sentence, 'For the territories are African territories, where in spite of some racial discrimination in social and economic matters, African interests, rights and liberties are respected and fostered. The territories enjoy an atmosphere of freedom and justice. That, in these present days, is rare and precious.'

Probably the most important chapter for our readers deals with the analysis and interpretation of race attitudes, 'The problem of race attitudes and of the right ordering of race relations which derive from these attitudes, looms as large and as portentous as a blood-red sun upon the horizon of twentieth-century South Africa. As a portent, it gives us warning that we can only continue to ignore at our peril.' With the Commonwealth now including three Asiatic Dominions, and with West Indians and West Africans approaching self-government, the British people, who hold responsibility for the government of the multi-racial societies of East and Central Africa and Malaya, will also ignore 'at their peril' the necessity of a complete overhaul of their racial attitudes, which, as in South Africa, have hitherto been based on domination, and can only be maintained by force. The

reaction to white domination is inevitably an increased racial consciousness or an increased sense of nationalism together with which go the counter-reactions of hostility and aggressiveness. There is no place for domination or hostility in a 'commonwealth of peoples contributing to each other's prosperity and to world stability and fellowship.'

It is impossible in so short a space to give a just appraisal of this *Handbook*. In stature and in lasting importance it may prove, comparable to the work of Sidney and Beatrice Webb.

H. B.

Tomorrow's Men in Africa

By R. K. Orchard. (Livingstone Press. 2s. 6d.)

These African Copper Miners

By R. J. B. Moore. (Livingstone Press. 6s.)

Here are two books by Protestant missionaries deeply concerned with the social problems raised by the 'industrial revolution' in Central and Southern Africa, not only in the industrial centres. Mr. Orchard illustrates from his experiences how far-reaching and disturbing are the effects of this rapid industrialisation. 'The impact of technology . . . means a transformation in a continent's existence.' In this transformation the quality of life must be raised, not only the standard of living. 'The moral responsibility of Europeans needs to be brought home to them' (Moore). Both writers make some practical suggestions. In general they plead that Development Plans must envisage the kind of society which is to emerge—the real choice is to what end the inevitable revolution shall be directed' (Orchard).

D. D.

DILEMMAS IN COLONIAL POLICY

November 3

Dilemmas in Education

Chairman: Frank Horrabin.

Speakers:

Rev. H. M. Grace.

Marjorie Nicholson.

December 1

Dilemmas in Planning

Chairman: C. W. Dumbleton, M.P.

Speakers:

H. D. Hughes, M.P.

Arthur Skeffington, M.P.

Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W.1

at 7 p.m.

Admission to each lecture, 1s.

KEY-MEN OF THE FUTURE

Who will administer the present Colonies when they become self-governing countries? Where are the Africans, West Indians, Malaysians and others who will take over the senior administrative and technical posts now being held by officials recruited from Britain? Many of them are in British Universities, fitting themselves to take over responsible posts. We give below the numbers for the academic years 1945-1949. A start in training has been made.*

1. COLONIAL STUDENTS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND EIRE*

Academic Years 1945-1949

1945/46*	1946/47*	1947/48	1948/49
1,188	2,262	2,796	3,493

* Including students from Ceylon and Palestine (328).

2. COLONIAL STUDENTS DIVIDED BETWEEN SCHOLARSHIP HOLDERS AND PRIVATE STUDENTS

Academic Year 1948/49

	Scholarship Holders.	Private Students.
PACIFIC		
Fiji	3	3
Mauritius	58	108
Seychelles	1	7
EAST AFRICA		
British Somaliland ...	5	—
Kenya	96	175
Northern Rhodesia ...	11	15
Nyasaland	7	8
Tanganyika	21	25
Uganda	23	33
Zanzibar	9	6
WEST AFRICA		
Gambia	8	15
Gold Coast	233	157
Nigeria	171	548
Sierra Leone	34	140
FAR EAST		
Hong Kong	36	19
Malaya and Singapore	89	139
MIDDLE EAST		
Aden	9	4
MEDITERRANEAN		
Cyprus	40	130
Gibraltar	19	16
Malta	26	34
Falkland Islands ...	2	2
WEST INDIES ...	489	519
GRAND TOTALS	1,390	2,103

3. DISTRIBUTION OF COLONIAL STUDENTS IN THE U.K. TO COURSES

Academic Year 1948/49

	Scholarship Holders.	Private Students.
Accountancy	61	15
Agriculture	26	24
Architecture	13	19
Art and Arts & Crafts	23	5
Arts	145	130
Bakery	—	10
Bootmaking	—	7
Building	26	7
Commerce	12	27
Dentistry	22	60
Domestic Science ...	10	13
Economics	35	30
Education	21	9
Engineering	171	136
Forestry	9	1
Geology	1	—
Law	59	527
Linguistics	11	1
Medicine	178	448
Music	10	11
Student Nurses ...	122	334
Optics	1	12
Pharmacy	13	8
Printing	6	10
Public Administration	14	4
Railway Trainees ...	24	—
Science	88	70
Social Science	33	6
Tailoring	—	8
Teacher Training ...	126	13
Theology	1	8
Veterinary Science ...	20	12
Miscellaneous	109	138
	1,390	2,103

* All figures from *Colonial Students in the United Kingdom and Eire*, Academic Year 1948-49, Colonial Office, Welfare Department, 15, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.

I AM JAMAICA

I am Jamaica—
 And I have seen my
 children grow
 Out of their separate
 truths;
 Out of the absolute
 truth of me:
 Out of my soil
 Into false shadows.
 And I have wept
 So
 that the strangers with
 sunglasses
 and red faces
 who survey my pass-
 ive sorrow
 call me beautiful
 And Isle of Springs.
 And God!
 I have no voice
 to shout out my
 disgust
 When their vile trap-
 pings brush
 my skin:
 Their filthy coppers
 reach my child-
 ren's palms:
 These palms: my
 flesh,
 My flesh beloved
 But where, oh where
 my spirit;
 Where my self, my fire?
 Lost, I wander
 through a sunlit night
 Beseeching, beseeching my
 belly's result
 to turn from other Gods
 to turn on me
 The dawn
 of their regard.

Basil McFarlane.

(Reprinted from *Focus, Jamaica*, 1948—a volume of
 writings by Jamaicans, edited by Edna Manley.)

For Reference

November, 1949

CONTENTS OF THIS NUMBER

Comment

The High Commission Territories - - - - -	1
What is UNO doing? - - - - -	2
Civil Servants in Politics - - - - -	2
The Nigerian National Movement - - - - -	3
Caribbean Development - - - - -	5
Colonial Students and the Labour Party - - - - -	7
Colonial Opinion - - - - -	8
Devaluation in the Colonies - - - - -	9
Correspondence - - - - -	9
Guide to Books - - - - -	10
Key-Men of the Future - - - - -	11
Activities of the Bureau - - - - -	12
Poem—"I am Jamaica" - - - - -	12

Activities of the Bureau

First Autumn Meeting

The first in the series of Autumn Meetings was held at the Caxton Hall on October 6. The subject was *The Dilemma of the Mixed Society*, Woodrow Wyatt, M.P., speaking on Malaya and Rita Hinden on East Africa, with Lord Faringdon in the Chair. There was a good attendance, and a very lively discussion which centred largely around the proposal thrown out by Rita Hinden that, long-term solutions apart, the only immediately practicable arrangement for Kenya was to develop political organisations on a racial basis, which would then meet on terms of equality in an Upper Chamber of Nationalities or Races. Mr. Wyatt was hopeful that the races in Malaya might eventually find the way towards unity, and spoke appreciatively of the work of the Communities Liaison Committee. Lord Faringdon, in summing up, disagreed with the proposals put forward for East Africa, but agreed that this was a subject on which fresh thought would now have to be given by everyone.

★ ★ ★

High Commission Territories

The Bureau collaborated with the Anti-Slavery Society and the Friends Native Races Committee in calling a small conference last July to discuss the future of the High Commission Territories. As a result of this conference a request has now been sent to Mr. Noel-Baker, the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, to receive a deputation from the three organisations concerned to consider the political and economic situation in these three territories.

★ ★ ★

Constitution of Nigeria

A meeting to discuss the progress of the constitutional review in Nigeria was called by the Bureau on October 3, and was addressed by Mr. Bode Thomas of the Executive of the Nigerian Youth Movement. Mr. Thomas is an elected member of the Central Drafting Committee for the new Constitution, and also a member of the General Conference which will consider the Draft and make final recommendations. Mr. R. Sorensen, M.P., was in the Chair, and the meeting was attended by a number of Nigerian friends, as well as by members of the Bureau Committee.

FABIAN

COLONIAL BUREAU

11 Dartmouth Street, London, SW1

Annual Subscription to Bureau . . . 20s.

(including *Venture*)

Full-time Students' Subscription . . 10s.

Annual Subscription to *Venture* only 7s.

Further details of membership from the Secretary